

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT OP-ED BY GEORGE W. BALL, NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24, HEADED "AGAINST 'CRAVENLY YIELDING' TO PEKING."
2. WERE SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE TO AGREE IN PEKING THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BREAK RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT IN TAIWAN IN RETURN FOR DE JURE RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, HE WOULD MAKE NONSENSE OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY. YET SOME ACADEMIC CHINA-WATCHERS, AMATEURS OF REALPOLITIK, NOW ADVOCATE THAT CYNICAL COURSE ON THE GROUND THAT THE "NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING (WHICH INVOLVES THE

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"DE-NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN) IS NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN A PEKING-WASHINGTON COUNTER TO SOVIET EXPANSIONISM.

3. THROUGHOUT HISTORY OUR VIEWS ABOUT CHINA HAVE OFTEN BEEN DISTORTED BY FANTASY, AND THIS ARGUMENT IS NO EXCEPTION. THE PEKING GOVERNMENT DOES NOT LOVE US FOR

OUR BEAUTIFUL EYES, NOR WOULD IT RESPECT US FOR CRAVENLY

YIELDING TO ITS WISHES; IT IS INTERESTED IN CONDUCTING LIMITED DIPLOMATIC BUSINESS FOR ONE REASON ONLY--THAT WE ARE AN ENEMY OF ITS ENEMY, THE SOVIET UNION.

4. SO IT IS FATUOUS TO ARGUE, AS SOME CHINA SPECIALISTS DO, THAT BECAUSE WE ARE MAKING THE LEADERS IN PEKING "IMPATIENT" BY FRUSTRATING THEIR DESIGNS ON TAIWAN, THEY WILL RUN FRANTICALLY INTO THE EMBRACE OF MOSCOW. IN FACT, THEY WILL MAINTAIN WHATEVER RELATIONS WITH US BEST SERVE THEIR INTERESTS, AND IT MATTERS LITTLE WHETHER THOSE RELATIONS ARE TECHNICALLY DEFINED AS DE FACTO OR DE JURE.

5. WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE IF OUR OUTPOST IN PEKING IS A LIAISON MISSION WITH LITTLE OFFICIAL ACCESS OR AN EMBASSY WITH LITTLE OFFICIAL ACCESS--AS IS TRUE OF ALL FOREIGN EMBASSIES TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC?

6. BUT IF WE WOULD GAIN LITTLE FROM PUSHING TAIWAN OVERBOARD, WHAT WOULD WE LOSE? WELL, SELF-RESPECT FOR ONE THING. WE WOULD BE ACTING OUT OF CHARACTER IN PURSUING THE SORDID DIPLOMACY OF THE 18TH CENTURY WHEN THE REVERSAL OF ALLIANCES WAS STANDARD PROCEDURE.

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7. NOR COULD WE REPUDIATE OUR SECURITY TREATY WITH THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CRITICALLY DIMINISHING THE CONFIDENCE OF JAPAN, KOREA AND OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES IN OUR OTHER COMMITMENTS.

8. THE TIME-HONORED STANDARDS FOR DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION REQUIRE THAT A GOVERNMENT HAVE CONTROL OF ITS TERRITORY, THE SUPPORT OF ITS PEOPLE, AND MEET ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. THE TAIWAN GOVERNMENT UNQUESTIONABLY CONTROLS FORMOSA AND THE PESCADORES. IT HAS KEPT ITS COMMITMENTS; AND, IF IT IS NOT A MODEL OF DEMOCRACY. THE 17 MILLION PEOPLE OF TAIWAN WOULD CERTAINLY PREFER THE MILDLY AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT TO THE TOTALITARIAN ANTHILL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND ABSORPTION BY A COUNTRY WITH A STANDARD OF LIVING ONLY ONE-THIRD THEIR OWN.

9. THUS, THE HONEST COURSE IS TO REAFFIRM OUR RECOGNITION OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT AS HAVING SOVEREIGNTY OVER FORMOSA AND THE PESCADORES, EXPLICITLY STATING THAT WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE ITS CLAIMS TO THE MAINLAND. MOREOVER, WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO

SUPPORT THE TAIWAN GOVERNMENT ONLY IF IT STOPS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST THE FORMOSANS WHO SETTLED THERE CENTURIES BEFORE THE ADVENT OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK IN 1949. IF--AS

SEEMS UNLIKELY--THIS QUALIFIED POSITION WOULD LEAD TAIWAN TO SEVER ITS RELATIONS WITH US, SO BE IT.

10. AT THE SAME TIME, WHILE DISREGARDING THE "ONE-CHINA" OR "TWO-CHINA, THEOLOGY AND THE STUDIED AMBIGUITIES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON SIGNED IN 1972, WE SHOULD ASSERT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC MEETS THE TEST OF RECOGNITION WITH REGARD TO THE MAINLAND BUT NOT FORMOSA OR THE PESCADORES, AND OFFER RECOGNITION ON THAT BASIS. THAT PEKING WOULD REJECT THIS
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SHOULD NOT DETER US. OUR POLICY WOULD ACCORD WITH THE FACTS AND ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE AND WE WOULD BE TRUE TO OUR ANNOUNCED PRINCIPLES.

11. ALL OF THIS SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE CONTEXT OF A TOTAL POLICY--TO REGAIN THE "FACE" WE HAVE LOST BY A DEMEANING POSTURE OF KOWTOWING.

12. DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, IN ADDITION TO THE CURRENT VANCE TRIP, THERE WERE NINE VISITS BY HENRY A. KISSINGER TO PEKING, WHILE TWO AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ALSO MADE THE ARDUOUS PILGRIMAGE TO THAT FAR-OFF CAPITAL. MEANWHILE, NOT ONE CHINESE OFFICIAL OF ANY STANDING HAS DEIGNED TO VISIT US BARBARIANS IN WASHINGTON. ARE WE, OR ARE WE NOT, VASSALS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM? WE CERTAINLY ACT AS THOUGH WE WERE. CHRISTOPHER

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